

December 20, 2011

VIA ELECTRONIC MAIL AND CERTIFIED MAIL RETURN RECEIPT REQUESTED

Melanie Sloan
Citizens for Responsibility and Ethics in Washington
1400 Eye Streut, NW #450
Washington, D.C. 20005

RE: MUR 6054

Vernon Buchanan et al.

Dear Ms. Sloan:

This is in reference to the complaint that Citizens for Responsibility and Ethics in Washingtoa, Carlo A. Bell, and David J. Padilla filed with the Federal Election Commission on August 19, 2008, which was designated as Matter Under Review 6054. After conducting an investigation, the Commission found that there was probable cause to believe that 1099 L.C. d/b/a Venice Nissan violated 2 U.S.C. §§ 441f and 441a(a) and that Donald M. Caldwell violated 2 U.S.C. § 441f. On August 24, 2010, the Federal Election Commission accepted a signed conciliation agreement signed by these respondents. A copy of that conciliation agreement is enclosed. The Commission also took the following actions regarding MUR 6054, including actions related to the counts in your complaint:

- The Commission found that there was reason to believe that Brad S. Combs violated 2 U.S.C. § 441f. After the investigation, upon consideration of the circumstances in this matter, the Commission determined to take no further action and closed the file as to him. See enclosed MUR 6054 General Counsel's Report #6.
- The Commission found that there was reason to believe that Vernon G. Buchanan and Vern Buchanan for Congress and its treasurer violated 2 U.S.C. §§ 441f and 441a(f). After the investigation, upon consideration of the circumstances in this matter, the Commission determined to take no further action as to these respondents and closed the file as to them. See enclosed MUR 6054 General Counsel's Report #9.
- The Commission took no action as to Marvin White, William F. Mullins, Jason A. Martin, Jack Prater, and your client, Carlo Bell. After the investigation, upon

consideration of the circumstances in this matter, the Commission closed the file as to them. See enclosed MUR 6054 General Counsel's Report #6.

- The Commission found reason to believe that 10-2002 LLC f/k/a Suncoast Ford violated 2 U.S.C. §§ 441f and 441a(a) and that Gary J. Scarbrough violated 2 U.S.C. § 441f. On December 16, 2011, conciliation agreements signed by these respondents were accepted by the Commission. Copies of the conciliation agreements are enclosed.
- The Commission found that there was probable cause to believe that 11-2001 LLC d/b/a Hyundai of North Jacksonville violated 2 U.S.C. §§ 441f and 441a(a) and Sam Kazran violated 2 U.S.C. § 441f. The Commission was unable to settle the matter through a conciliation agreement and, therefore, authorized the filing of a civil suit in United Status District Court. See Federal Election Commission v. SAM KAZRAN, also known as Sam Khazrawan, Case No. 3:10-cv-1155-J-37JRK (M.D. Fla.).

Documents related to the case will be placed on the public record within 30 days. See Statement of Policy Regarding Disclosure of Closed Enforcement and Related Files, 68 Fed. Reg. 70,426 (Dec. 18, 2003) and Statement of Policy Regarding Placing First General Counsel's Reports on the Public Record, 74 Fed. Reg. 66132 (Dec. 14, 2009).

If you have any questions, please contact me at (202) 694-1341.

Sincerely.

Michael A. Columbo

Attorney

#### **Enclosures**

1099 L.C. d/b/a Venice Nissan and Donald Caldwell Conciliation Agreement MUR 6054 General Counsel's Report #6

MUR 6054 General Counsel's Report #9

10-2002 LLC f/k/a Suncoast Ford Conciliation Agreement

Gary J. Scarbrough Conciliation Agreement

### BEFORE THE FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13	In the Matter of  1099 L.C. d/b/a Venice Nissan  Donald M. Caldwell  Brad S. Combs  Carlo A. Bell  Jason A. Martin  William F. Mullins  Jack Prater  Marvan L. White  GENERAL COUN	) ) MUR 6054 ) ) ) ) ) ) ) ) ) NSEL'S REPORT #6	CELA CELA
14	I. ACTIONS RECOMMENDED		
15	(1) Accept the attached conciliation agree	rement and close the file as to 10	00 T C 4/b/a
		•	
16	Vemce Nissan ("VN") and Donald M Caldwel	l, (2) take no further action and c	lose the file as to
17	Brad S Combs, and (3) close the file as to Carl	o A Bell, Jason A Martin, Willia	am F Mullins,
18	Jack Prater, and Marvin L. White		
19	IL <u>DISCUSSION</u>		
20	A. VN and Donald M. Caldwell		
21 22	On June 29, 2010, the Commission four	id probable cause to believe that	<b>VN</b> and
23	Caldwell (collectively, "Empondents") violetti	2 USC § 441 f and that VN vic	plated 2 U S C
24	§ 441a(a), in connection with making excessive	contributions us the name of and	other to Vern
25	Buchanan for Congress ("VBFC") The Comm	ussion also approved a conciliation	on agreement for
26	Respondents,		
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20			

1	We recommend that the Commission accept the attached i	conciliation
2	agreement	
3		·
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8		They also agree to pay
9	\$11,000 caval penalty	; to
10	refrain from future violations, and to request that VBFC disgorge the	reimbursed contributions to
11	the U S Treasury	
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: Accordingly, we recommend that the Commission accept the attached conciliation agreement and close the file as to 1099 L C d/b/a Venice Nissan and Donald M Caldwell

B.	Brad	S.	Comb

-	Di ac S. Comos
2	On June 23, 2009, the Commission found reason to believe that Brad S Combs, a finance
3	manager at VN, violated 2 U S C § 441f based on the available information suggesting that he
4	may have assisted VN in making contributions in the names of VN employees. See MUR 6054
5	FGCR at 10-15 The investigation in this matter, including an interview of Combs, did not
6	reveal evidence that Combs participated in the reimbursement of any contributions
7	Accordingly, we recognized that the Commension take no further action and close the file as to
8	Bred S Combs
9 10	C. Carlo A. Bell, Jason A. Martin, William F. Mullins, Jack Prater, and Marvin L. White
11 12	Respondents Carlo A Bell, Jason A Martin, Walliam F Mullins, Jack Prater, and Marvin
13	L White were Donald Caldwell's subordinate managers at VN whose contributions to VBFC
14	were reimbursed by VN The Commission determined on June 23, 2009, to take no action at the
15	time with respect to these respondents because the available information did not suggest that an
16	of them played an active role in the alleged reimbursements See MUR 6054 FGCR at 15-16
17	The mvestigation in this matter, including interviews of Bell and depositions of Maran, Mallins
18	Pracer and Winter, dui nut reveral swideness that there played any genuter tole in organizing or
19	executing the rembursements Assordingly, we recommend that the Commussion close the file
20	as to Carlo A Bell, Jason A Martin, William F Mullims, Jack Prater, and Marvin L White
21	III. RECOMMENDATIONS
22 23	1 Accept the attached conciliation agreement and close the file as to 1099 L C d/b/a Venuce Nissan and Donald M Caldwall
24 25	2 Take no further action and close the file as to Brad S Combs
26 27 28 29	3 Close the file as to Carlo A Bell, Jason A Martin, William F Mullims, Jack Printer, and Marvin L White

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18 19 Jack Gould Attorney	el l
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23 Michael A Columbo 24 Attorney	
25 26 27	

RECEIVED FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

### 1 BEFORE THE FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION 2011 JAN 25 PM 2: 01 2 In the Matter of 3 **MUR 6054** CELA 4 Vernon G. Buchanan 5 6 Vern Buchanan for Congress and Joseph R. Gruters. 7 in his official capacity as treasurer 8 9 **GENERAL COUNSEL'S REPORT #9** I. 10 RECOMMENDATION 11 Take no further action as to Representative Vernon G. Buchanan. Vern Buchanan for Congress and Joseph Gruters, in his official capacity as treasurer, and close the file as to these 12 13 respondents. 14 II. INTRODUCTION 15 16 This matter concerns \$67,900 of campaign contributions received by Vern Buchanan for 17 Congress ("VBFC" or "Committee"), during the 2006 and 2008 election cycles that were 18 reimbursed with the funds of Hyundai of North Jacksonville ("HNJ"), a car dealership in which Representative Vernon G. Buchanan ("Buchanan") held a majority ownership interest. On 19 20 March 17, 2010, the Commission found reason to believe that Rep. Vernon G. Buchanan, Vern **2**1 Buchanan for Congress, and Joseph Gruters, in his official capacity as treasurer, knowingly and 22 willfully violated 2 U.S.C. §§ 441f and 441a(f) and ponducted an investigation. On 23 September 21, 2010, the Commission determined to enter into pre-prebable cause conciliation 24 with Respondents, who rejected conciliation shortly thereafter. After we served the General Counsel's Brief, Respondents served their brief, which substantively responded to the allegations 25 in this matter for the first time. On December 9, 2010, the Commission held a probable cause 26 27 hearing.

### MUR 6054 General Counsel's Report #9 (Representative Vernon G. Buchanan et al.) Page 2

1 This case turns on whether Buchanan directed his minority business partner Sam Kazran 2 ("Kazran") to reimburse contributions at HNJ in 2005, 2006, and 2007. Kazran testified that he 3 did, and Buchanan testified that he did not. We have reviewed the entire record, including 4 Respondents' evidence and arguments regarding the credibility of witnesses and exculpatory 5 information. Since we served the General Counsel's brief, we learned of evidence that bears directly 6 7 on Kazran's contibility. This new information mises significant concerns regarding the 8 credibility of Kazzen, the principal witness in this case, and there is no testimonial or 9 documentary evidence that sufficiently corroborates his testimony that Buchanan directed 10 Kazran to reimburse contributions of HNJ employees, a claim that Buchanan denies. Other 11 witnesses gave statements that are in some ways consistent with Kazran's testimony, but these 12 witnesses either did not testify that they heard Buchanan instruct Kazran to reimburse 13 contributions, or their testimony did not align with Kazran's as to Buchanan's alleged direction to 14 reimburse contributions. Given the concerns about Kazran's credibility and other gaps in the 15 evidentiary record, the lack of direct support is significant. Further, the circumstantial evidence 16 does not sufficiently corroborate Knaran's testimony to overcome our revent concerns with his 17 credibility because in many cases, this enidence supports Buckmann's obtains or in ambiguous. 18 Accordingly, we recommend that the Continuesion to take no further action as to 19 Buchanan and VBFC. 20 Ш NEW INFORMATION REGARDING KAZRAN'S CREDIBILITY 21 After we filed the General Counsel's brief, Respondents provided a copy of an order 22 finding Kazran in contempt of court. This order, coupled with Kazran's actions at about the

same time we filed the General Counsel's brief, influences our reasoning and recommendation in this case.

Respondents attach to their reply brief a 2008 order from a civil case in Georgia finding Kazran in contempt and ordering him jailed, and a 2010 motion seeking sanctions in the same case against Kazran's companies. Reply Brief, Exhs. 6, 8. Respondents' claim that "Kazran's lack of credibility should be evident to OGC given his deceit during a recent bunkruptcy proceeding in Georgia state sourt, a cure likely familiar to OGC as a regulf of its two-year investigation." Reply Brief at 6.

The contempt order in question was issued by a Georgia trial court in November 2008 in a civil suit between Bank of America and three car dealerships owned by Kazran. See Reply Brief, Exh. 5, 6. It appears that the court found Kazran in contempt because he transferred \$137,843.00 in violation of an order appointing a receiver. Id. We agree with Respondents that a court's contempt order for transferring funds in violation of an order of receivership is a serious matter because it relates to Kazran's honesty and respect for the law.

Respondents assert that Kazran's credibility is also undermined because in mid-to-late October 2010, he allegedly threatened to publicize the Commission's investigation of Buchanan by filing a lawsuit scuking Buchanan's mayment of Kamun's future negotiated givil penulty with the Commission and repayment of the mimbarsements to HNJ. Reply Brief at 5, Exh. 1, 4. We agree with Respondents that Kazran's actions were ill-advised and raise credibility concerns,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Respondents also fault OGC for not discovering this information. Hearing Transcript at 16. As to this claim, Buchanan's counsel informed us in September 2010 that Kazran had been in juil in Georgia. We asked Respondents' counsel for more specifics about Kazran's jailing, and counsel for Buchanan said he would produce them at the appropriate time. We immediately conducted criminal background searches in both Georgia and Florida, and those searches produced no evidence of convictions. Respondents revealed the information in early November when they served their reply brief. We do not know why counsel did not reveal it sooner.

l especially as Kazran's actions occurred in the two weeks before the 2010 elections. We note that

2 once the election was over, Kazran did not follow through with his promise to file the lawsuit.

which may suggest that his promise was tied to the election.

In fairness to Kazran, his October 2010 correspondence essentially repeats the claims he has made all along: Buchanan should repay HNJ and him for the amounts related to Buchanan's instruction that HNJ reimburse contributions to his political committee. Further, a close reading of the descentiantation Kazran sent indicates that Kazran's action wernid reveal the invastigation of his awn actions, and Buchanan's. Moreover, although the timing of Kazran's actions makes it appear that they were tied to the upcoming election, the timing of Kazran's letter was also related to the timing of the Commission's September 28, 2010, notification to Kazran that it had found probable cause and was seeking conciliation. The September 28, 2010, notification letter also stated that the Commission might institute a civil suit against Kazran if an agreement was not reached within 30 days.

We also note that at the probable cause hearing, Respondents asserted that "Kazran implied in a letter that he was working with OGC to negotiate a civil penalty for Congressman Buchanan to pay on behalf of Kazran." Hearing Tr. at 17. In fact, the Constrission found probable cause that Kazran and HNJ violated the Act, and, as required the by the Act, OGC engaged in post-probable cause conciliation on behalf of the Commission. The negotiation, which was unsuccessful, was over Kazran and HNJ's civil penalty, not Buchanan's.

Given the new information relating to Kazran's credibility, we believe that his testimony regarding Buchanan's instruction to reimburse contributions at HNJ needs strong corroboration to be considered sufficient enough to say that it is more likely than not that his version of the facts is true. As explained in this report, the record does not contain such corroboration.

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2 3 4 5 6	IV. KAZRAN'S TESTIMONY AS TO DISCUSSIONS DURING WHICH BUCHANAN INSTRUCTED HEM TO REIMBURSE CONTRIBUTIONS AT HIJ IS NOT SUFFICIENTLY CORROBORATED BY WITNESSES TO THESE DISCUSSIONS
7	Kazran testified that Buchanan, his majority partner in the HNJ car dealership, directed
8	him on a number of occasions from 2005 to 2007 to solicit employees at HNJ to make
9	contributions to VBFC and then to reimburar those unryloyees with funds from HNJ. Kazran
10	Depo at 13-14, 20-22, 32, 34-37, \$3-54, 70-72. Buchman denies that he ever suggested that
11	Kazran should reimburse employee contributions to his campaign. Buchanan Depo at 93, 98-99.
12	We analyzed Kazran's testimony regarding Buchanan's directions to reimburse
13	contributions of HNJ employees and compared it to the sworn statements of those who witnessed
14	these conversations to see if Kazran's claims were more likely than not true. That analysis
15	shows that Kazran's testimony lacks sufficient corroboration.
16	A. The 2005 Instructions to Reimburse Contributions
17	In his deposition, Kazran described the first time Buchanan allegedly told him to
18	reimburse contributions.
19 20 21 22 23 24 25	Q. The Federal Election Commission records show that on or about November 2005 some of the employees at the North Jacksonville Hyundai made contributions to Mr. Buchanan's campaign for Congress. The records show that Gail Lephart, Ernest Lephart, Gary Smith and Diana Smith contributed a total of \$16,800 to Mr. Buchanan's campaign for Congress. Did you ask any of these individuals to make a contribution to Mr. Buchanan's campaign?
26 27	A.Yes, I did.
29 29	Q. Why did do you that? [sic (transcript)]
2P 30	A. I instructed them to write a check and reimburse themselves for - because Mr.
31	Buchanan had asked me to get money. And he specifically told me get someone
32	you trust and run it through the corporation.
22	

Q. Okay. And did you get someone that you trusted?

A. Yes, Ms. Gail Lephart and D. Smith, he's no longer with us, they were the office managers. Ms. Gail Lephart was our comparaller that I had known ami had a good relationship with. And she was going to cut the check. She's the person that cuts the check. And the first time that — and I think she's contributed on multiple times, but the first time that I did, I told her that we'd be getting this money back from Mr. Buchanan. I said, I don't know when, he just asked me to do it.

Kazran Depo at 20-22. Kazran makes another reference to Lephart later in the deposition when we are attituded him about a paragraph in an affidavit that Businessa and John Tosch, the CEO of his companies, presented to him to sign in connection with a settlement of a business dispute between Buchanan and Kazran. See Section V.E., below. This paragraph states that before September 2008, neither he nor Buchanan knew of reimbursements at HNJ. Kazran stated:

A. That is an absolute lie. Mr. Vern Buchanan — well, let's put it this way. I'm supprised that timy're putiting that in time, burnsus net only he's had personal talks with me, I've had — Josh Farid has heard him, Gail Lephart on the phone has heard him....

Kazran Depo at 70. Buchanan denied that he ever suggested to Kazran that he reimburse these contributions. Buchanan Depo at 98-99.

To help resolve this factual dispute, we looked at sworn statements from witnesses who claimed they ware present citring 2905 conversations regarding reimbursing contributions at HNJ. First, Gayle Lephart as cred that just before she made her containation to VBFC on November 29, 2005, she heard Kazran talking on a cellphone to a person she assumed was Buchanan. See Lephart Affidavit. She heard Kazran say something like "Vern, I'll handle it now," and immediately after that, Kazran told her to write a personal check to VBFC in a specific amount and reimburse herself with HNJ funds, and then find other potential contributors at HNJ and reimburse them through HNJ's payroll account, which she did. Id. She also swore that Kazran directed her to send the contributions to Diane Mitchell at VBFC. Id. Diane

- Mitchell is an assistant to John Tosch who, according to Buchanan, may have done some
   volunteer work for VBFC. Buchanan Depo at 101-102.
- However, Lephart does not swear that she heard Buchanan direct Kazran to reimburse contributions, indeed, she did not hear anything Buchanan said during the phone call in question.
- Further, Lephart did not corroborate Kazran's testimony that he told her that Buchanan would repay HNJ for the reimbursements. Lephart Aff. at 1.

Second, Joshua Farid, Kamran's business partner and brother-in-law, swore to overhearing a 2005 phone conversation during which Buchanan told Kazran that he needed to raise \$50,000 for VBFC. See Farid Affidavit at ¶4. He also swore that he heard Kazran tell Buchanan that he had already contributed the maximum to Buchanan's campaign, to which Buchanan replied that Kazran should have HNJ employees contribute to the campaign and then reimburse them with HNJ funds. Id. Kazran did not mention this conversation in his deposition.

#### B. The 2006 Instructions to Reimburse Contributions

Kazran also testified to a 2006 conversation during which Buchanan suggested to him that he could reimburse contributions at HNJ to raise \$25,000 or \$50,000 for VBFC, and this suggestion was part of the negotiations regarding Kazran's purchase of Buchanan's interest in a dealership in Georgia called Gwinnett Place Dodge. Kazran Depo at 13-14, 32, 34-36.

Buchanan denies that he ever suggested reimbursing contributions at HNJ, Muchanan Depo at 93, 98-99, and specifically denied that he discussed with Kazran the amount that Kazran would have to pay him for his share of Gwinnett Place Dodge, and denied asking Kazran to raise funds in connection with that transaction. *Id.* at 104-106.

Kazran testified that Buchanan, Farid, and he were walking in a hallway when Kazran offered to buy Buchanan's interest in that dealership. Kazran Depo at 32, 34-35. Buchanan had

asked Kazran for \$300,000 or \$400,000 for his interest, but Kazran did not have that much
money. Id. at 35. Kazran wanted to pay a smaller amount, and he wanted to pay Buchanan over
time. Id. He further testified that Buchanan agreed to payments over time if Kazran would agree
to raise "25- or \$50,000" for VBFC. Id. at 35-36. When Kazran said he did not have that much
money, Buchanan told him to "get someone you trust and run it through the corporation." Id. at
36. He also claims that Farid was present during the ecoversation. Id. at 32, 72.
Farid, however, down not swear that he heard Bushanan tell Kauran to reimburse VBFC
contributions with HNJ funds during this conversation. He swears that (1) he heard Buchanan
tell Kazran that he "would have to get more funds for Buchanan's campaign," and (2) it was his
understanding "based on subsequent conversations [Farid] had with Mr. Kazran" that Buchanan
wanted Kazran to solicit contributions from HNJ employees and then reimburse them with HNJ
funds. Farid Aff. at ¶5. So, while Farid's affidavit provides evidence that is consistent with
some details to which Kazran also testified, it lacks first-hand testimony on the most important
point: whether Buchanan told Kazran to reimburse contributions at HNJ in 2006.
C. The 2007 Instructions to Reimburse Contributions
There is corroboration of Kazran reimbursing contributions at HNJ in 2007, but not of the
allegation that Buchanan directed them. Kazran's testimony as to such relimbursements was:
But on the second time, in fact, she [Lephart] was at the office when I was talking
to Mr. Buchanan. And at the time in 2007, or 2008, was the second one, the company was not doing very good, so—and she was not very happy about us
writing those large amounts of checks.
Kazran Depo at 22. He also testified:
Razian Depo at 22. He also testinica.
And that - and the second time limt he was running, we were in the process of
buying tire Kia dealership. But, you know, I was a pretty good partner, if you
will, with Mr. Buchanan, so he always he always said, I'm counting on you sow. You'm the only one that was raise this kind of money. Make sure you get it.
Make sure you get it.

1 2 There would be times that Mr. Buchanan would call me in a week's time several 3 times. I mean, very aggressively too. I mean, I researaber having two, three 4 phone salls in a two, three-day period. 5 6 Now, if you guys go and check the close of reporting, that quarterly reporting, 7 you'll see that, you know, at the beginning you get a small amount, but then 8 towards the end of it he would always expect us to do more. 9 10 Kazran Depo at 53-54. Kazran further testified: 11 Q.: Mr. Kazran, going back to the previous testimony that you've made today, 12 isn't it true that you were initially approached by Mr. Buchanan who instructed 13 you -14 15 A.: Every time. 16 17 O.: -- to reimburse your employees with the company money and contribute to his 18 campaign? 19 20 A.: Right. He said get somebody you trust, run it through the corporation. And 21 Josh Farid was present there. 22 23 Id. at 72. Again, Burhamm denies that he ever discurred reimburging contributions at HNJ. 24 Buchanan Depo at 93, 98-99. 25 Lephart's affidavit also describes reimbursements at HNJ "sometime in 2007." She 26 swore that Kazran approached her and told her that HNJ employees needed to contribute to 27 VBFC and be relembarsed with HNJ finids. She claimed she told Kazran she was upset that 28 company money was going to be used to reinhurse contributions, but Kazzan responded only 29 with a shrug. See Lephert Affidavit. 30 What is missing from both Kazran's testimony and Lephart's statement is specific, direct evidence that Buchanan told Kazran to reimburse contributions in 2007. Kazran testifies only 31 32 that Buchanan told him to get more contributions, and he was aggressive about it. Kazran Depo 33 at 53-54. He obliquely indicated that these contributions were also accomplished through a 34 trusted person, Lephart. Id. at 22. Lephart testifies only that Kazran told her to reimburse more

1	contributions at HNJ, she told Kazran she was upset about it, and Kazran only shrugged. Kazran
2	also testified ambiguously about how Buchanan instructed him to reimburse contributions "every
3	time," but he seems to be referring to times when Farid was present, and Farid was not present
4	during the 2007 conversation he had with Buchanan. Kazran Depo at 72. As there is insufficient
5	direct evidence that Buchanan directed Kazran to reimburse contributions at HNJ, we next
6	considered the circumstantial evidence.
7 8 9 10	V. SOME OF THE CIRCUMSTANTIAL EVIDENCE IS CONSISTENT WITH KAZRAN'S VERSION OF EVENTS, BUT OTHER EVIDENCE IS CONSISTENT WITH THE DENIALS OF BUCHANAN AND HIS ASSOCIATES
11	As described more fully in the General Counsel's Brief, there was a series of events from
12	2005 to 2008 that relates to Kazran's allegation that Buchanan directed him and other partners in
13	his businesses to reimburse contributions. The circumstantial evidence does not sufficiently
14	corroborate Kazran's testimony to overcome our recent concerns with his credibility because in
15	many cases, the evidence is consistent with the denials of Buchanan and his associates.
16 17 18	A. Testimony That Shortly After Buchanan Announced his Candidacy in 2005, One of his Associates Suggested that Employer Contributions Could be Reimbursed
19	Buchanan announced to his partners at a meeting in late summer 2005 that he was
20	running for Congress. Buchanan partner Steve Silvatio testified to a conversation that happened
21	during a lunch in August or September 2005 that followed that meeting. According to Silvenio,
22	Buchanan's COO Dennis Slater suggested that contributions to Buchanan's campaign could be
23	reimbursed, and Buchanan's CEO John Tosch "just sat there." Silverio Depo at 46-47.
24	In response, Respondents cite Tosch's general denial of any knowledge that Buchanan or
25	his agents suggested reimbursing contributions and Slater's testimony that he did not know about
26	any contributions that had been reimbursed until he heard about them in the media. Reply Brief

at 14-15; Tosch Depo at 36; Slater Depo at 68. Respondents also assert that Silverio testified

that Buchanan never alluded to reimbursing dealership employees, and Silverio was biased 1 2 against Buchanan. See Reply Brief at 15, note 8; Hearing Tr. at 10. In addition, before the 3 probable cause hearing, we identified and disclosed to the Respondents Silverio's prior 4 statement, made during an informal interview before his deposition, that the Buchanan officer 5 who authorized the reimbursements was either Tosch or Slater and that Buchanan was present when one of his top officers gave that instruction. Letter dated December 9, 2010. In contrast, 6 7 during die deposition. Silverin testified that it was Stater who stated that purmers could 8 reimburse their employees through payrell, and Silverin did not place Buchanan at this 9 discussion. See Silverio Depo at 46-47. Further, we disclosed to Respondents that Silverio 10 stated during his interview that after the end of his partnership with Buchanan, he was at one 11 time motivated to sue Buchanan or take their dispute to the media, but an attorney talked him out 12 of it. Letter dated December 9, 2010. 13 We believe that Silverio's deposition testimony remains credible. First, Silverio testified 14 in a way that eliminated Buchanan's involvement in this incident, which is inconsistent with a 15 bias against Buchanan. Respondents' claim that that Silverio's initial desire to sue Buchanan or 16 go to the mediat shows bias against Auchanan, but it is hard to understand how Silverio's ultimate 17 refused to its these this is in the past shows that he must have been biased against Suchanan 18 when he testified as to what Slater said and Torok heard. Further, whether it was Torok or Slater 19 who authorized the partners to reimburse employee contributions. Silverio consistently claimed 20 that a top Buchanan officer suggested that partners could reimburse employee contributions. 21 Finally, both Slater and Tosch have reason to deny that the incident Silverio described happened. 22 Even so, this incident is of limited value in supporting Kazran's testimony about

Buchanan. Silverio testified that Buchanan was not present during the conversation, and that he

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- 1 never heard Buchanan suggest that partners could reimburse employee contributions. Silverio
- 2 Depo at 61. In addition, no other Buchanan partner who we contacted stated that he heard
- 3 Buchanan authorize reimbursed contributions.

### B. Fundraising Pressure

As described more fully at pages 9-15 of the General Counsel's Brief, there was also

6 testimony and documentary evidence that beginning in 2095, Buchenan and his associates

pressured his minor partness to mise containations, especially towards the and of quarterly

reporting periods, that Buchanan's campaign tracked these contributions, and that Ruchanan was

9 more involved in these activities than he was willing to admit during his deposition.

10 Respondents argue that all of this activity was normal and legal, and Buchanan's lack of recall

about these events is understandable, given the passage of time. Reply Brief, 16-18, 22-24. We

think the evidence here is ambiguous because it is consistent with both Kazran's contentions of a

wider reimbursement scenario and Respondents' claim of normal campaign activity.

# C. Employee Reimbursements at the Venice Nissan Dealership in 2005 and the SunCoast Ford Dealership in 2007

17 Last year, the Commission found probable cause to believe that contributions in

18 September 2005 were reimbursed at Venice Nissan ("VN"), a Buchanan-controlled dealership,

and the relevant responsients conciliated with the Commission. See General Connect's Report #6

in this matter. There is, however, no information that Buchanan was personally involved with

these reimbursements.

In 2007, another Buchanan dealership, SunCoast Ford, reimbursed \$18,400 in

contributions to VBFC made by its operating partner, Gary Scarbrough, and three employees.

See GC's Brief at 15-16, Reply Brief at 20-21. Respondents' sua sponte submission in this

25 matter did not mention these reimbursements. See Reply Brief, Exh. 9. Respondents do not

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## MUR 6054 General Counsel's Report #9 (Representative Vernon G. Buchanan et al.) Page 13

- 1 contest that SunCoast Ford reimbursed these contributions, that they learned of the
- 2 reimbursements in 2007, or that they did not voluntarily disclose this fact to the Commission.
- 3 Reply Brief at 20-21. Respondents rely upon Scarbrough's testimony that he did not recall
- 4 ordering the reimbursements. Id. at 7. They also maintain that VBFC's refund of the reimbursed
- 5 contributions was in line with Commission regulations and standard operating procedure for
- 6 political campaigns. *Id.* at 21.

Regarding Scarbrough's claim he did not recall ordering the reimbursements, we note that Scarbrough responded that he either did "not recall" ar did "not remember" over 100 times during his deposition, which lasted a little more than two hours. See Scarbrough Depo, passim. As discussed below, Scarbrough remembered more during his informal interview, so we do not consider his testimony particularly credible. In addition, after the SunCoast Ford reimbursements were revealed, neither Scarbrough nor any other SunCoast Ford employee was disciplined for using company funds to contribute to VBFC, Tosch Depo at 51, nor have Buchanan's businesses instituted new policies nor issued guidance to Buchanan's partners and employees about contributing to VBFC. Tosch Depo at 52.

Respondents' contention that VBFC complied with Commission regulations when it refinded the reimbursed SCF contributions is essentially true. Nonetheless, in response to a question at the hearing why VBFC only disclosed the HNJ reimbursed contributions in its sua sponte and not the SCF reimbursed contributions, counsel for VBFC responded that CREW had filed a complaint on August 19, 2008, alleging reimbursed contributions at VN, and it wanted the Commission to understand "all of the outstanding issues." Hearing Tr. at 31-33. Counsel also stated that the HNJ reimbursed contributions were more recent than the SCF reimbursed contributions and that HNJ was "a completely different fact pattern." *Id.* at 31-32. Counsel for

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Buchanan noted that VN never admitted wrongdoing, and he distinguished SCF from HNJ by 1 2 asserting that Scarbrough "believed he could engage in the activity that occurred there" and that 3 it was a "mistake." Id. at 35-36. Ultimately, counsel's explanation appeared to be that, in 4 contrast to the Buchanan subordinates involved in the VN and SCF contribution reimbursements. 5 Kazran was the only Buchanan partner who admitted guilt. Id. at 36. We believe the sug 6 sporte's exclusion of the SunCoast Fort reimbursements is in tension with counsel's claim at the 7 hearing that the sum monte was filed to help the Commission understand "all the outstanding 8 issues." 9 Related to evidence of reimbursements at other Buchanan-owned dealerships is the 10 testimony from Salvatore Rosa, a former financial officer for a Buchanan-owned company, that 11 Buchanan had asked him in the early 2000's to help one of Buchanan's business partners receive 12 a reimbursement for a political contribution using the funds of the company Buchanan owned with that partner. Rosa Depo at 20-21. According to Rosa, when he told Buchanan that doing so 13 14 would be illegal, Buchanan told him to "finesse it" and ended the conversation. Id. at 21-22. 15 Buchanan denies this event happened, and in their Reply Brief, Respondents provide reasons 16 why they believe that Rosa is an unreliable witness. See Bucharan Depo at 73-74, Reply Brief at 17 12-14, and Section VI.B.3 believ. In management a question at the hearing, Brochman's counsel 18 stated that the phrase "finesse it" could be interpreted in different ways and that Buchanan might 19 interpret such a statement differently than Rosa did. Hearing Tr. at 25-26. Respondents did not 20 offer any examples of alternative interpretations. 21 The Commission found probable cause to believe that VN and a senior manager 22 reimbursed employee contributions, and there is no dispute that SCF reimbursed employee

contributions. These incidents are consistent with Kazran's testimony of a reimbursement

- scenario at HNJ, another Buchanan-owned business. There is, however, no evidence directly
- 2 linking Buchanan to these situations. Rosa's testimony, however, links Buchanan to such a
- 3 scheme, although it is outside the statute of limitations. Even so, it is evidence that is consistent
- 4 with Kazran's claim that Buchanan asked him to reimburse contributions at HNJ.

### D. Kazran and Farid's 2008 Emails

contributions. See Tosch Depo Docs 000018-38.

In 2008, the business relationship between Buchanan and Kazran deteriorated as Kazran's dealerships began experiencing franceial difficulty. As a result, Kanran and Farid aent a series of emails to Buchanan, his CEO John Tosch, and one of Buchanan's attorneys in late summer and early fall of 2008 seeking to resolve the business dispute, and in some cases, asking for Buchanan's help. Kazran also sent Tosch copies of the contribution checks of HNJ employees and the HNJ checks given to those employees to reimburse them for their

The first Kazran email, dated August 26, 2008, and sent to Buchanan, mentioned Kazran's support of their partnership and stated "I am the only one in our group that has donated over 80k to [Buchanan's] campaign." Tosch Depo Docs 000058-59. It stated that Kazran and Buchanan appeared to be at the end of their purtnership, but Kazran hoped for an "amicable, clean and speedy exit strategy." it! at 900058.

The next day, Farid sent an email to Touch in which he expressed frustration with Buchanan because Buchanan was seeking to sue Kazran after "this dealership" [HNJ] had supported his campaign "to a tune of \$80K" at Buchanan's request. Farid Aff. at Exh. 1. He also expressed frustration with Kazran. *Id.* In his affidavit, Farid explained that he sent this email, in part, because he felt that Buchanan was taking advantage of Kazran by expecting him to use dealership funds to reimburse employee contributions to VBFC. Farid Aff. at 1-2.

1	On September 8, 2008, Kazran sent an email to Tosch either just before or just after
2	receiving a demand letter for \$2.5 million from Buchanan. In the email, Kazran stated:
3	this is the 1st set of checks, there are more to follow, It gives me great regret to
4	have done this for Yern when he doesn't even hesitates [sic] for a second to sue
5	me and my wife over 20k Maybe he can consider taking part of this 80k+ as
6	one month of payment so my wife doesn't cry out of fear of loosing [sic] our
7	home. I thank Vern for giving me permission to set aside my moral character
7 8	
9	Tosch Depe Does 009028. Tosch testified that Kazran sent this email and the checks to him the
10	day or the day after Buchanan sent bim the denmed letter seeking \$2.5 million on a loan
11	Buchanan had made to Kazran. Tosch Depa at 92-96. According to Tosch, this email shows the
12	amounts of dealership money that Kazran claimed he used to reimburse employee contributions
13	at Buchanan's direction. See Tosch Depo at 71; see also Tosch Depo Docs 000028, 000049,
14	000056, and 000058-59.
15	On October 1, 2008, Kazran sent an email to Buchanan attorney Roger Gannam about
16	terms on which Buchanan and Kazran might settle their business dispute. That email contained
17	the following:
18	Vern had mentioned he would want to reimburse the stores a bill that he and I
19	spoke of, the total amount is \$83500, He has copies of 52k, if he likes I can get
20	the rest or he can verify through his record. This was at his request
21	and took of the oast vertry through this toooks. This was at this toquest
22	Tosch Depo Docs 000049.
23	Finally, on October 5, 2008, Kazran sant an email to Tosch, which appears to
24	reflect settlement discussions he was having directly with Buchanan. In that email,
25	Kazran stated:
26	Vern and I will talk about the last part without attornies[sic], I think I have a
27	suggestion that will make him happy He wants to cut a check for all the
28	amount, I have about 70k tracked down the rest are credit cards, if he wants to
29	verify, I have to call the campaign mgr to ask her for details, if you can have
30	someone do that I would app[re]ciate it.
31	••••

1 Tosch Depo Docs 000056.

Respondents maintain that Kazran's 2008 emails were both (a) about the reimbursements for which Kazran did not want to take responsibility, Reply Brief at 19, and (b) not about reimbursements but, as Tosch testified, about attorney's fees. Reply Brief at 9-10. Respondents do not clearly explain this difference. In support of their claim that the "52k" Kazran referred to in his October 1, 2008, email was a reference to Kazran's attorney's fees, Respondents rely on Tosch's deposition testimony. Reply Brief at 9-10; Tosch Depo at 92-96. Kazran recently confirmed in a latter that he and Buchanan were indeed discussing Buchanan possibly paying Kazran's attorney's fees of \$50,000. Reply Brief, Exh. 1.

Although the emails contained discussions about attorney's fees, they also appear to discuss Kazran's reimbursement of contributions at HNJ and his discussions with Buchanan about repaying those funds. What is not clear is whether these emails closely support Kazran's claim that Buchanan told him to reimburse these contributions with HNJ funds, or that Buchanan agreed to repay these amounts. The language in the emails is vague on these points, and none of them state that Buchanan was aware that Kazran was reimbursing contributions or that Buchanan ordered him to do so.

### E. The Affichivit that Eucheum's Attomeys Asked Kazran to Sien

Another piece of circumstantial evidence in this matter is that on October 2, 2008,

Buchanan and Tosch made an offer to Kazran to settle their dispute that required him to sign an affidavit regarding the reimbursement of contributions at HNJ. This affidavit stated, among other things, that neither Buchanan nor Kazran knew anything about the reimbursed contributions. This affidavit was attached to a settlement proposal Buchanan's counsel drafted, which Buchanan and Tosch signed. Kazran Depo at 56, Exhs. 2 and 3. Kazran testified that the

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- affidavit was false, and that Buchanan made its execution a condition of that October 2, 2008,
- 2 offer to settle their differences. Kazran Depo at 63, 70-72. He stated that Buchanan told him "if
- 3 I did not sign the affidavit, to blame everything on me, then there would be no agreement and
- 4 contract to purchase out the dealership and give me back the money." Id. at 63. This affidavit is
- 5 potentially significant because it could demonstrate that Buchanan was attempting to conceal his
- 6 involvement in the reimbursement scheme.

Respondents claim that the affidavit is "entirely true." Reply Brief at 20: see also Probable Cause Hanring Transcript at 37. Contrary to Respondents' claims, the affidavit is not "entirely true." Paragraph 5 of the affidavit states that before September 2008, Kazran had no information that HNJ had reimbursed individuals for contributions made to VBFC. This provision contradicts one of Respondents' key claims in the case--that Kazran alone directed the reimbursements at HNJ during the '06 and '08 cycles. See Hearing Tr. at 7-8. It also contradicts Kazran's undisputed testimony that he reimbursed contributions at HNJ in 2005, 2006, and 2007. See Section IV, above. Further, at the time the affidavit was drafted, Kazran had already sent the reimbursement checks to Tosch, who discussed Kazran's allegations with Buchanan's attorneys. Toseii Deno at 71-72 (noting that Kagren discussed the reimburgements during a call that took place the day of, or the day before, Kazran sent the chacks to Tosch by email); Tusch Depo Doos 000028 (September 8, 2008, email from Kazran to Tosch containing HNJ reimbursement checks and the contribution checks that were reimbursed). Finally, Buchanan and Tosch gave different reasons why the affidavit was necessary. Buchanan claimed that the affidavit was needed because Tosch told him that Kazran was trying to leverage more money in the financial dispute,

but Tosch claimed that the affidavit was needed based on a conversation Buchanan had with

1 Kazran on October 1, 2008. See Buchanan Depo at 165-68; Tosch Depo at 111. Tosch testified 2 that he was unaware of the subject of the conversation. Tosch Depo at 111-12.

Buchanan testified to having almost nothing to do with the affidavit and remembering little about it. Buchanan Depo at 164, 166-67, 173. He claimed he did not remember signing the settlement proposal to which the affidavit was attached, that it was not his idea to have Kazran sign the affidavit, that he did not know who prepared the affidavit, that he had no part in trafting it, that he had never seem it its fore his deposition, and that he server discussed it with Touch 1d. at 164, 166-67. He decied knowing if Kazran ever signed the affidavit. 1d. at 173. Respondents assert that Buchanan was understandably unable "to remember the precise details of a document he had never seen[.]" Reply Brief at 20.

Buchanan's lack of recall about the affidavit, or the events surrounding it, does not seem credible. It is improbable that Buchanan's attorneys drafted the affidavit and presented it to Kazran without Buchanan's involvement considering that (1) the affidavit did not concern the subject of the commercial negotiations, but rather Buchanan's knowledge of reimbursed contributions to VBFC, and (2) it was presented to a former Buchanan partner who, according to Respondents, was threatening to go to Buchanan's political opponent or the Commission before the 2008 election with his allegation that Buchanan ardered him to reimburge contributions.

To some extent, the affidavit contradicts the testimony of both Kazran and Furchanan.

Respondents claim that affidavit is true, but it is not. Kazran claims that the affidavit "blame[s] everything on me," but it does not. Kazran Depo at 63. Thus, it does not provide strong corroboration for either.

### F. The Testimony of Buchanan and his Associates on Background Issues

2 On a number of background issues, the testimony of Buchanan and his associates is not particularly credible. Although these inconsistencies diminish the credibility of 3 4 Buchanan and his associates, they do not necessarily corroborate Kazran's testimony. 5 In their Reply Brief, Respondents claim that there is "unassailable, independent 6 proof that Congressmen Buchanan actively instructed against reimbursement of 7 contributions," Reply Brief at 11, even though there is little conoberative evidence and 8 more contrary evidence. During his deposition, Buchanan asserted that he made it clear 9 to Kazran and others that they could not reimburse contributions, and that VBFC sent a 10 letter to partners informing them that they could not reimburse contributions. Buchanan 11 Depo at 34, 58-59, 93-94. Buchanan's testimony is at odds with the testimony of Kazran 12 and Silverio, see Kazran Depo at 87-88 (testimony that he was unaware that reimbursing 13 contributions was illegal). Silverio Depo at 46-47 (claiming that Buchanan's COO 14 Dennis Slater told him in 2005 that he could reimburse contributions and that Silverio did 15 not know the rules or the laws of campaign finance). Buchanan's testimony is also 16 internally inconsistent, contradicted by a statement in an interview of the former VBFC 17 trenserer Namey Watkins that she was unaware of any documents prepared for 18 Buchanan's business partners regarding campaign finance law, and not supported by the 19 documents actually produced by VBFC. 20 Similarly, Buchanan testified that he could not remember "one way or the other" whether he ever asked Kazran to fundraise for VBFC for the '06 election. Buchanan 21 22 Depo at 89. There is evidence that Buchanan did ask, and it raises legitimate questions as 23 to Buchanan's credibility that he could not admit this innocuous fact. See Gruters Depo

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- at 38-39 (testifying that Buchanan asked his partners for contributions during the 2006 election). Despite not remembering whether he asked Kazran to fundraise in 2006. Buchanan was certain that he told Kazran not to reimburse contributions, See Buchanan Depo at 93-94, 110. These two statements are largely inconsistent with each other, and are inconsistent with the other evidence. Also, Silverio and Gruters testified that Buchanan discussed his campaign with his partners at the monthly partner neetings, which Euchanan regularly estended. Silverio Depo at 16-17, 27-28; Gruters Depo at 32, 50-51. Buchanan and his top deputies, Tosch and Slater, appeared to have contradicted one another as to whether Buchanan attended partner meetings during his campaign and whether his campaign was discussed at those meetings. See Buchanan Depo at 26, 51, 114; Tosch Depo at 28; Slater Depo at 47-57. However, Gruters' and Silverio's testimony were consistent with Kazran's account.
  - Buchanan testified that he did not report an individual partner's fundraising goal back to the campaign, the campaign did not track fundraising goals, and that he could not "imagine saying anything" to his compaign about what his partners agreed to raise.

    Buchanan Depo at 41, 56. Further, Buchamen testified, "I dun't know what anybody lins raised." Id. at 110. However, this testimony is contradicted by the testimony of Graters and documents produced by VBFC. The campaign maintained lists showing the amounts that Buchanan's partners had committed to raise, or what they had raised so far, Gruters Depo at 42-43, 97, 109, and Buchanan himself would follow up with partners to see how they were progressing with their fundraising. Id. at 38-39, 42, 109-111. VBFC produced an email listing \$58,300 in contributions from various individuals received by VBFC on

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- 1 September 27, 2007, including \$9,200 from Kazran and his wife. VBFC initially
- 2 produced this email on June 25, 2010, but redacted the recipients' email addresses.
- 3 including Buchanan's, as "non-responsive." VBFC 000361. After Buchanan's
- 4 deposition, Respondents produced this document in unredacted form, revealing that the
- 5 email was sent to Buchanan.

6 Faced with the inconsistencies between Buchanan's testimony and that of the other

7 witnesses and records regarding these issues, Respondents consede that Buchenen's records

8 may have "imperfections" or contains "minor memory lapses" that pertain to events yours before.

9 Respondents also contend that these inconsistencies and lapses are not meaningful, and they

relate to legal activity. Reply Brief at 16-18. We do not insist that any witness have perfect

recall of past events to be considered credible, but we think that Buchanan's inability to

remember basic facts as to these uncontroversial, routine issues detracts from his credibility.

Nevertheless, these inconsistencies on background issues do not necessarily show that Buchanan

directed Kazran to reimburse contributions.

### VI. RESPONDENTS' ARGUMENTS ARE NOT FACTUALLY ACCURATE

While we do not, for the reasons stated above, recommend finding probable cause, we believe it is necessary to show that three arguments raised in the Reply Brief are fastually incorrect. In their brief, Respondents contend that "three fatal flaws" prevent the Commission from finding probable cause in this matter: OGC (1) "relies exclusively on the testimony of one unreliable witness and his relative," (2) "conveniently omits exculpatory evidence that contradicts OGC's ultimate conclusion," and (3) "contorts commonplace, lawful fundraising practices into evidence of wrongdoing." Reply Brief at 1.

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A.	OGC Relies on More Than One Witness and his Relative
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2 3 As discussed above, other witnesses, including Lephart, Rosa, and Silverio-none of whom are related to Kazran-gave testimony that was consistent with parts of Kazran's 5 testimony. As discussed above, to some extent, Buchanan and his associates also corroborated aspects of Kazran's testimony. 7 Respondents assert that Farid is not credible because he is Kazran's brother-in-law and partner. Reply Brief at 6-7. The fact that Fueld is Kanzag's brother-in-law and business partner does not make Farid's swmm testimony inherently hizzer or unreliable, nor done it affect the extent to which the remainder of the evidence may support Kazran's (and Farid's) testimony. Also, Respondents rely significantly on an unsworn email from Buchanan's sister-in-law Yvonne Buchanan stating that "We've never reimbursed anyone." See Reply Brief at 15 and VGB 002. Further, her statement was inaccurate because by the time of her email, there was no dispute that 14 VBFC knew that contributions at SunCoast Ford had been reimbursed by the dealership and subsequently refunded by VBFC at the direction of its treasurer. Accordingly, it is hard to see 16 why Ms. Buchanan's email statement is significant. Respondents also contend that Kazran has a substantial motive to fabricate his testimony to receive lenient transment from the Commission, having admitted illegal activity. Reply Brief at 3-4. Kazran has not received lenient treatment from OGC, as we recommended that the Commission make knowing and willful findings against Kazran at the RTB and Probable Gause stages, and we recently recommended that the Commission sue Kazran, which it did. See FEC v. Sam Kazran a/k/a Sam Khazrawan, et al., No. 3:10-cv-01155-UATC-JRK (M.D. Fla.) 22 (complaint filed December 17, 2010). We note that Buchanan, a sitting Representative, also has

a motivation to avoid a probable cause determination that he and his committee violated the Act.

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1 Respondents also seek to undercut Kazran's testimony by citing allegations from 2 Buchanan's lawsuit against Kazran and pending bankruptcy proceedings as truth, even though 3 these matters are not final. Respondents allege that Kazran's credibility is diminished because 4 he did not repay a loan from Buchanan to Kazran and that Kazran allegedly diverted funds 5 intended for one dealership to support a different dealership and for other purposes. See Reply Brief at 5-6. Litigation between Buchasan and Kazran has been ongoing for over two years. 6 7 The Commission is in no position to resolve the allegations in those matters, and for now, those 8 allegations are just that: allegations. 9

#### B. Exculpatory Information Was Disclosed to Respondents

Respondents received exculpatory information, some in the GC's Brief, some in the depositions, and some shortly before the December 9, 2010, probable cause hearing.

### I. The HNJ Response Document

As evidence that Buchanan was not involved with the HNJ reimbursements, Respondents relied significantly on a statement in an unsworn document Kazran submitted to OGC styled as the HNJ Response to the Commission's Subpoena ("HNJ Response"). In Kazran's answer to subported question 27. Kazran omits Buchaman's name from a list of HNJ partners, officers, and managers whom he disimed knew about the raimbursed contributions. Hearing Tr. at 9-10, 37; HNJ Response at 5. Kazran submitted this document on October 2, 2009, which was after he stated during interviews on July 15 and 16, 2009, that Buchanan instructed him to reimburse contributions and before he testified under oath during a deposition on November 6, 2009, that Buchanan instructed him to reimburse contributions. Kazran Depo at 13, 21, 37, 72.

1	We understand why Respondents might think this unsworn document <sup>2</sup> is significant
2	because they may be unaware that we interviewed Kazran before he submitted that statement,
3	and in that prior interview, he claimed that Buchanan directed the reimbursements at HNJ.
4	Further, it is likely Kazran understood the relevant question as referring only to current HNJ
5	partners, not a past partner such as Buchanan. Accordingly, this document is not significant.
6	As a final note, Respondents assert that we provided this document two days before the
7	hearing, and they are connect. However, it was an aversight, we provided the document
8	innuediately when it was calied to our attention, and the Respondents' prominent use of the
9	document suggests that they suffered little harm.
10 11 12	2. Information in the GC's Brief and Contentions Made in the Reply Brief
	Respondents contend that OGC omitted significant exculpatory evidence from its Brief.
13	See Reply Brief at 12. Respondents contend that Salvatore Rosa's testimony that Buchanan
14	directed him to reimburse a business partner's contribution in the early 2000's is not credible and
15	that Rosa has not worked for Rep. Buchanan for eight years. Reply Brief at 12-14. However,
16	OGC clearly identified the time period in which Rosa warned Rep. Buchanan that reimbursing
17	dealership employees was illegal, and did not imply that Rosa knew anything about the current
18	allegations. Mercuver, the statute of limitations has nothing to do with when Buchanan lenew
19	relimbursing contributions was illegal, and that knowledge is relevant to the analysis of whether
20	his alleged violations were knowing and willful.
21	Respondents also contend that Slater, Buchanan's former COO, provided "significant
22	exculpatory testimony." Reply Brief at 15-16. Respondents' characterization suggests that they
23	view as exculpatory any person's testimony - here, Slater's - that their own contributions to

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Coursel for Business inacceptately referred to the HNJ Response as a swarm statement. Hazaring Tr. at 37.

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1 VBFC were not reimbursed or that Buchanan never told them to reimburse contributions, see 2 Hearing Tr. at 10-11, even if their contributions are not at issue in this case. Respondents even 3 asserted that Dennis Slater's opinion that "the reimbursement allegations smell like retribution 4 rather than fact" is exculpatory evidence, which it is not. Hearing Tr. at 11. In any event, Slater 5 was represented by Buchanan's attorney for his dealerships during his deposition and a full transcript of his deposition testimony was provided to Respondents at the time we provided 6 7 Respondents with OGC's brief. 3. Information Provided to Respondents Prior to the Probable Cause Hearing 8 9 10 Just before the probable cause hearing, we provided to Respondents three pieces of 11 information obtained during informal interviews. Letter dated December 9, 2010. We have 12 already discussed one of these pieces, which relates to a difference between Silverio's interview

Another piece of information was a statement from Rosa's interview that he did not trust Kazran. However, Respondents argue for thrue pages that Rosa himself should not be believed, see Reply Brief at 12-14. We do not think that Rosa's general impression of Sam Kazran is particularly probative.

and deposition testimony. See Section V.A., above. While there may be differences of opinion

as to whether all the material in the letter is exculpatory, we do not think that the information is

particularly significant and, as already noted, Respondents used the information at the hearing.

Finally, the information provided from Joseph Scarbrough's interview regarding the circumstances of his being reimbursed by SunCoast Ford for his contribution to VBFC was actually inculpatory, not exculpatory, because it impeached his testimony (he appeared to remember more during his interview than at his deposition), and Respondents relied on Scarbrough's testimony.

# C. Lawful Fundraising Practices Are Not Cited as Evidence of Wrongdoing but Rather Provide Relevant Context

Respondents correctly point out that the following actions are legal: soliciting business partners for contributions, seeking contribution "bundlers," tracking contributors, focusing on quarterly reporting, and choosing to raise funds from individuals instead of self-funding. See Reply Brief at 22-24. OGC did not allege that any of these practices constituted violations of the Act; rather, they provide relevant background, context, and contoborating densits for Kanuan's testimony, and provided examples of instances in which Buchanan's testimony did not appear to be accurate or consistent, even as to innocuous and routine activity.

### VII. CONCLUSION

The evidence in this case comes close to supporting a finding that it is more likely than not that Respondents violated both §§ 441f and 441a(f). However, new information raises significant concerns regarding the credibility of Kazran, the principal witness in this case, and there is no testimony or documentary evidence sufficiently corroborating his testimony that Buchanan instructed him to reimburse employee contributions at HNJ, a claim that Buchanan directly denies. While there is some other evidence in the record that is consistent with Kazran's general allegations, other evidence supports Buchanan's denials or is ambiguous. Accordingly, we ranammend that the Commission take no further nation against these respendents.

### VIII. RECOMMENDATIONS

Take no further action as to Representative Vernon G. Buchanan, Vern Buchanan for Congress and Joseph Gruters, in his official capacity as treasurer, and close the file as to these respondents.

2. Approve the appropriate letters.

	<b>z</b> 5	/η		
Date				

Christopher Hughey by Stephen Gura Christopher Hughey

Acting General Counsel

Stephen A. Gura

Deputy Associate General Counsel for Enforcement

Mark Allen

Assistant General Counsel

Jack Gould Attorney

Michael A. Columbo

Attorney

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### **BEFORE THE FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION**

In the Matter of	)	
1099 L.C. d/b/a Venice Nissan	)	MUR 6054
Donald M. Caldwell	)	

#### **CONCILIATION AGREEMENT**

This matter was initiated by a signed, sworn and notarized complaint by Citizens for Responsibility and Ethics in Washington ("CREW"), Carlo Bell, and David J. Padilla. An investigation was conducted, and the Federal Election Commission ("Commission") found probable cause to believe that 1099 L.C. d/b/a Venice Nissan ("VN") and Donald M. Caldwell ("Caldwell")(together, "Respondents") violated 2 U.S.C. § 441f and that VN violated 2 U.S.C. § 441a(a).

NOW, THEREFORE, the Commission and the Respondents, having duly entered into conciliation pursuant to 2 U.S.C. § 437g(a)(4)(A)(i), do hereby agree as follows:

- I. The Commission has jurisdiction over the Respondents and the subject matter of this proceeding.
- II. Respondents have had a reasonable opportunity to demonstrate that no action should be taken in this matter.
  - III. Respondents enter voluntarily into this agreement with the Commission.
  - IV. The pertinent facts in this matter are as follows:
- VN is a car dealership located in Venice, Florida, that was organized in 1999 as a limited liability company that is taxed as a partnership. In 2005, Vernon G. Buchanan owned 53% of VN through a company called 1099 LC Management. Shelby Curtsinger owned 33% of VN, Kevin Brodsky owned 10% of VN, and Donald Caldwell owned 4% of VN. Buchanan was

not involved in the day-to-day operation of VN. Shelby Curtsinger was the owner-operator on premises.

- 2. Donald Caldwell was the VN General Sales Manager in 2005 and reported directly to Curtsinger.
- In September 2005, Carlo Bell was the VN Finance Director and worked under Caldwell's supervision.
- 4. In September 2005, Jack Prater was the VN Dodge Sales Manager and worked under Caldwell's supervision.
- 5. In September 2005, Jason Martin was the VN Finance Manager and worked under Caldwell's supervision.
- 6. In September 2005, William Mullins was the VN new car sales manager and worked under Caldwell's supervision.
- 7. In September 2005, Marvin White was the VN used oar manager and worked under Caldwell's supervision.
- 8. In 2005, Buchanan began his campaign for the 2006 election to Congress in Florida's 13<sup>th</sup> Congressional District. His principal campaign committee was Vern Buchanan For Congress ("VBFC").
- 9. The Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as amended ("the Act"), prohibits any person from making a contribution in the name of another and from knowingly permitting his or her name to be used to make such a contribution. 2 U.S.C. § 441f. Section 441f also applies to any person who knowingly helps or assists any person in making a contribution in the name of another. 11 C.F.R. § 110.4(b)(1)(iii).

- 10. During the 2005-2006 election cycle, a person could contribute no more than \$2,100 to a candidate and his or her authorized committee per election. See 2 U.S.C. § 441a(a)(1)(A).
- 11. On September 16, 2005, Caldwell verbally requested and obtained \$5,000 cash from the VN accounting office. The VN accounting record for the VN check that was cashed to provide those fands to Caldwell does not indicate its purpose.
- 12. Caldwell used the \$5,000 he obtained on September 16, 2005, to provide \$1,000 cash each to Carlo Bell, Jack Prater, William Mullins, Marvin White, and Jason Martin that same day. Carlo Bell averred that Caldwell explained that he would give Prater, Martin, and him \$1,000 cash each in exchange for their writing \$1,000 checks to VBFC. In their sworn statements and testimony, Caldwell, Prater, Martin, Mullins, and White denied that Caldwell offered to reimburse Bell, Prater, Martin, Mullins, or White's contributions.
- 13. Prater, Martin, White, and Mullims contributed to VBFC the same day that Caldwell provided them with the \$1,000 cash; their contributions were made through personal checks, and they were all checks for \$1,000. Bell wrate a \$1,000 contribution check to VBFC the fullowing day. VBFC disclosed receiving the contributions of Bell, Prater, Martin, White, and Mullins on September 28, 2005.
- 14. The Commission concludes that VN records and testimonial evidence support
  Bell's allegations that the cash payments were reimbursements for contributions and do not
  support Respondents' assertions that the cash payments to Bell, Prater, Martin, White, and
  Mullins were legitimate bonuses. Respondents contend that the cash payments from Caldwell to

Bell, Prater, Mullins, White, and Martin were legitimate "Fast Start" bonuses and not reimbursements for their contributions.

- 15. The Commission has evidence that is sufficient to demonstrate that there is probable cause to believe that, by giving \$1,000 to Carlo Bell, Jack Frater, William Mullins, Marvin White, and Jason Martin, VN and Caldwell name contributions to VBFC in the names of Bell, Prater, Mullins, White, and Martin in violation of 2 U.S.C. § 441f, and, therefore, that VN made an excessive contribution by contributing more than \$2,100 per election to VBFC.
- V. For the sole purpose of settling this matter and to avoid litigation, without admitting or denying the Commission's conclusions, Respondents will not contest that they violated 2 U.S.C. § 441f by making contributions in the name of another and that respondent VN violated 2 U.S.C. § 441a(a) by making contributions to Vern Buchanan for Congress that exceeded \$2,100 per election.

## VI. Respondents will take the following actions:

- 1. Respondents will pay a civil penalty to the Federal Election Commission in the amount of Eleven Thousand dollars (\$11,000), pursuant to 2 U.S.C. § 437g(a)(5)(A).
- 2. Respondents will refrain from violating 2 U.S.C. § 441f by making contributions in the name of another, and Respondent VN will refrain from violating 2 U.S.C. § 441a(a) by making contributions that exceed the applicable contribution limitations.
- 3. Respondent VN will waive the right to any refund of all political contributions from Vern Buchanan for Congress and will request that Vern Buchanan for

Congress disgorge all contributions referenced in this agreement, which have not been previously refunded or disgorged, to the United States Treasury.

VII. The Commission, on request of anyone filing a complaint under 2 U.S.C. § 437g(a)(1) concerning the matters at issue herein or on its own motion, may review compliance with this agreement. If the Commission believes that this agreement or any requirement thereof has been violated, it may institute a civil action for relief in the United States District Court for the District of Columbia.

VIII. This agreement shall become effective as of the date that all parties hereto have executed same and the Commission has approved the entire agreement.

- IX. Respondents shall have no more than thirty (30) days from the date this agreement becomes effective to comply with and implement the requirements contained in this agreement and to so notify the Commission.
- X. This Conciliation Agreement constitutes the entire agreement between the parties on the matters raised herein, and no other statement, promise, or agreement, either written or oral,

## FOR THE COMMISSION:

Thomasenia P. Duncan General Counsel

BY:

Kathleen M. Guith

**Acting Associate General Counsel** 

for Enforcement

FOR BASPONDENT 1099 L.C. DIBIA VENICE NISSAN:

Shelby S Cortsinger

VP GM

FOR RESPONDENT DONALD M. CALDWELL:

Donald M. Caldwell

Date



ı	BEFORE THE FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSIUMEL 20 (2-12-				
2 3	In the Matter of ) OFFICE OF GEHERELE				
5	Gary J. Scarbrough ) MUR 6054 (GUNSEL				
6 7	CONCILIATION AGREEMENT				
8 9	This matter was initiated by the Federal Election Commission ("Commission") pursuant				
10	to information ascertained in the normal course of carrying out its supervisory responsibilities.				
11	The Commission found reason to believe that Gary J. Scarbrough ("Scarbrough" or				
12	"Respondent") violated 2 U.S.C. § 441f.				
13	NOW, THEREFORE, the Commission and the Respondent, having participated in				
14	informal methods of conciliation, prior to a finding of probable cause to believe, do hereby agree				
15	as follows:				
16	I. The Commission has jurisdiction over the Respondent and the subject matter of				
17	this proceeding, and this agreement has the effect of an agreement entered pursuant to 2 U.S.C.				
18	§ 437g(a)(4)(A)(i).				
19	II. Respondent has had a reasonable opportunity to demonstrate that no action should				
20	be taken in this matter.				
21	III. Respondent enters voluntarily into this agreement with the Commission.				
22	IV. The pertinent facts in this matter are as follows:				
23	1. At the time of the events in this matter, Scarbrough was the operating minority				
24	partner of Suncoast Ford, a car dealership located in Port Richey, Florida, that was organized as				
25	a Limited Liability Company and was treated by the Internal Revenue Service as a partnership.				
26	Scarbrough was responsible for the day-to-day operation of the dealership. Representative				
27	Vernon Buchanan ("Buchanan") controlled a majority ownership interest in Suncoast Ford				

Conciliation Agreement MUR 6054 Gary J. Scarbrough Page 2

- through another limited liability company but was not involved in the day-to-day operation of the
   dealership.
- The Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as amended ("the Act"), provides
- 4 that no person shall make a contribution in the name of another person or knowingly permit his
- or her name to be used to effect such a contribution. 2 U.S.C. § 441f. Section 441f prohibits
- 6 providing money to others to effect contributions in their names without disclosing the source of
- 7 the money to the recipient candidate or committee at the time the contribution is made, and it
- 8 applies to individuals as well as incorporated or unincorporated entities. 11 C.F.R.
- 9 § 110.4(b)(2); 2 U.S.C. § 431(11) (term "person" includes partnerships and corporations). This
- 10 prohibition also applies to any person knowingly helping or assisting any person in making a
- 11 contribution in the name of another, including "those who initiate or instigate or have some
- 12 significant participation in a plan or scheme to make a contribution in the name of another[.]"
- 13 11 C.F.R. § 110.4(b)(1)(iii); Explanation and Justification for 11 C.F.R. § 110.4(b)(1)(iii) at 54
- 14 Fed. Reg. 34,105 (1989).
- 15 3. During the 2007-2008 election cycle, a person could contribute no more than
- \$2,300 to a candidate and his or her authorized committee per election. See 2 U.S.C. § 441a(a).
- 17 4. In March 2007, Scarbrough wrote a personal contribution check to Vern
- 18 Buchanan for Congress ("VBFC") in the amount of \$4,600, as did Suncoast Ford controller
- 19 Kenneth Lybarger ("Lybarger") and employees Harold H. Glover, III, ("Glover") and M. Osman
- 20 Ally ("Ally"). VBFC disclosed that it received \$4,600 from each of the four individuals.
- Scarbrough directed Lybarger to issue reimbursement checks from Suncoast
- 22 Ford's account to Scarbrough, Lybarger, Glover and Ally.

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Conciliation Agreement **MUR 6054** Gary J. Scarbrough Page 3

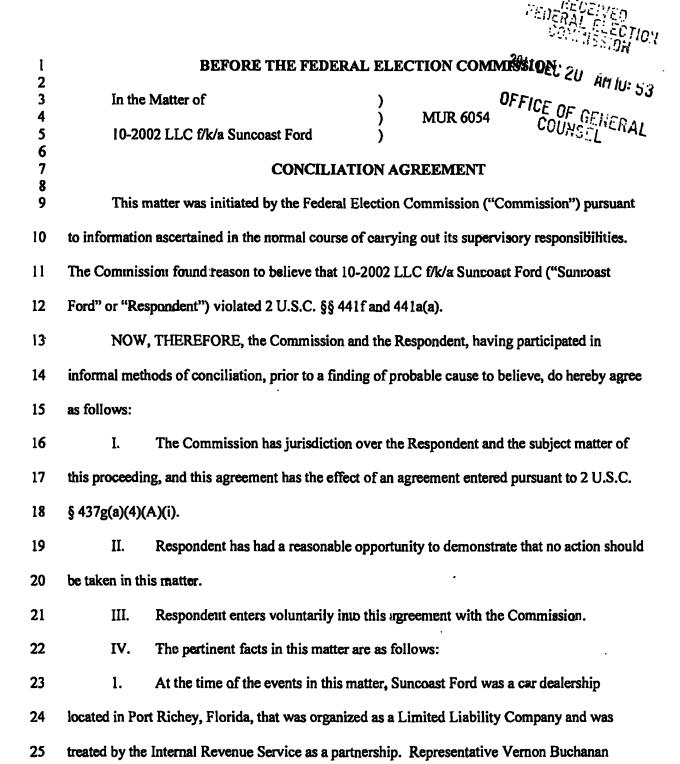
- 1 6. A routine review of Suncoast Ford's books by an auditor from the Buchanan 2 Automotive Group that represented Buchanan's ownership interest in the dealership revealed the 3 reimbursements.
- 4 7. Scarbrough contends that he did not know that the reimbursements were illegal 5 and that once he was informed that reimbursing contributions is prohibited by law, he took 6 corrective action by requesting that VBFC refund the reimbursed contributions.
- 7 8. On June 18, 2007, VBFC refunded all \$18,400 of the reimbursed Suncoast Ford 8 employee contributions.
  - V. Based on the facts set forth above in paragraphs IV.1-8, the Commission concluded that there was reason to believe that Scarbrough violated 2 U.S.C. § 441f by assisting Suncoast Ford with contributing to Vern Buchanan for Congress in the names of Scarbrough, Lybarger, Glover, and Osman. In order to resolve this matter through conciliation, Scarbrough will not contest the Commission's conclusion as set forth in this paragraph. Scarbrough will cease and desist from violating 2 U.S.C. § 441f.
- 15 VI. Ruspondent will pay a civil penalty to the Federal Election Commission in the amount of Eight Thousand Five Hundred Dollars (\$8,500), pursuant to 2 U.S.C. § 437g(a)(5)(A). 16
- 17 VII. The Commission, on request of anyone filing a complaint under 2 U.S.C. § 437g(a)(1) 18 concerning the matters at issue herein or on its own motion, may review compliance with this 19 agreement. If the Commission believes that this agreement or any requirement thereof has been 20 violated, it may institute a civil action for relief in the United States District Court for the District of Columbia.

Conciliation Agreement MUR 6054 Gary J. Scarbrough Page 4

1	VIII.	This agreement shall become effective as o	f the date that all parties hereto have	
2	executed same and the Commission has approved the entire agreement.			
3	IX.	Respondent shall have no more than 30 day	s from the date this agreement	
4	becomes effective to comply with and implement the requirements contained in this agreement			
5	and to so notify the Commission.			
6	X.	This Conciliation Agreement constitutes th	e entire agreement between the parties	
7	on the matters raised herein, and no other statement, promise, or agreement, either written or			
8	oral, made by	either party or by agents of either party, that	is not contained in this written	
9	agreement sha	all be enforceable.		
10	FOR THE COMMISSION:			
l 1 12	Anthony Herman General Counsel			
13 14 15 16	Acting	en M. Guith g Associate General Counsel	2-20-   Date	
17	FOR THE RE	ESPONDENT:		
18 19 20 21	Mark L. Ornsi Counsel to G	tein ary J. Scarbrough	12-15-11 Date	

26

27



("Buchanan") controlled a majority ownership interest in Suncoast Ford through another limited

liability company but was not involved in the day-to-day operation of Suncoast Ford. In 2007,

Conciliation Agreement MUR 6054 10-2002 LLC f/k/a Suncoast Ford Page 2

- 1 Gary J. Scarbrough ("Scarbrough") was the operating minority partner of Suncoast Ford
- 2 responsible for the day-to-day operation of the dealership.
- The Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as amended ("the Act"), provides
- 4 that no person shall make a contribution in the name of another person or knowingly permit his
- or her name to be used to effect such a contribution. 2 U.S.C. § 441f. Section 441f prohibits
- 6 providing money to others to effect contributions in their names without disclosing the source of
- 7 the money to the recipient candidate or committee at the time the contribution is made, and it
- 8 applies to individuals as well as incorporated or unincorporated entities. 11 C.F.R.
- 9 § 110.4(b)(2); 2 U.S.C. § 431(11) (term "person" includes partnerships and corporations).
- During the 2007-2008 election cycle, a person could contribute no more than
- \$2,300 to a candidate and his or her authorized committee per election. See 2 U.S.C. § 441a(a).
- 12 4. In March 2007, Scarbrough wrote a personal contribution check to Vern
- 13 Buchanan for Congress ("VBFC") in the amount of \$4.600, as did Suncoast Ford controller
- 14 Kenneth Lybarger ("Lybarger") and employees Harold H. Glover, III, ("Glover") and M. Osman
- 15 Ally ("Aliy"). VBFC disclosed that it received \$4,600 from each of the four individuals.
- 16 5. Scarbipugh directed Lyberger to issue reimbursement cheeks from Sunceest
- 17 Ford's account to Scarbrough, Lybarger, Glover and Ally.
- 18 6. A routine review of Suncoast Ford's books by an auditor from the Buchanan
- 19 Automotive Group that represented Buchanan's ownership interest in the dealership revealed the
- 20 reimbursements.
- 21 7. Suncoast Ford's Operating Partner, Scarbrough contends that he did not know that
- 22 the reimbursements were illegal and that once he was informed that reimbursing contributions is

Conciliation Agreement MUR 6054 10-2002 LLC f/k/a Suncoast Ford Page 3

- 1 prohibited by law, he took corrective action by requesting that VBFC refund the reimbursed
- 2 contributions.
- 3 8. On June 18, 2007, VBFC refunded all \$18,400 of the reimbursed Suncoast Ford
- 4 employee contributions.
- 5 V. Based on the facts set forth above in paragraphs IV.1-8, the Commission concluded that
- 6 there was reason to believe that Suncoast Ford violated 2 U.S.C. § 441f by contributing to Varn
- 7 Buchanan for Congress in the names of Scarbrough, Lybarger, Glover, and Osman, and violated
- 8 2 U.S.C. § 441a(a) by making a contribution to VBFC that exceeded the \$2,300 per election
- 9 contribution limit. In order to resolve this matter through conciliation, Suncoast Ford will not
- 10 contest the Commission's conclusion as set forth in this paragraph. Suncoast Ford will cease and
- desist from violating 2 U.S.C. §§ 441f and 441a(a).
- VI. Respondent will pay a civil penalty to the Federal Election Commission in the amount
- of Seven Thousand Dollars (\$7,000), pursuant to 2 U.S.C. § 437g(a)(5)(A).
- VII. The Commission, on request of anyone filing a complaint under 2 U.S.C.
- 15 § 437g(a)(1) concerning the matters at issue herein or on its own motion, may review compliance
- with this agreement. If the Commission believes that this agreement or any requirement thereof has
- been violated, it may institute a civil action for relief in the United States District Court for the
- 18 District of Columbia.
- 19 VIII. This agreement shall become effective as of the date that all parties hereto have
- 20 executed same and the Commission has approved the entire agreement.

Conciliation Agreement MUR 6054 10-2002 LLC f/k/a Suncoast Ford Page 4

1	IX.	Respondent shall have no more than 30 days from the date this agreement		
2	becomes effective to comply with and implement the requirements contained in this agreement			
3	and to so notify the Commission.			
4	X.	This Conciliation Agreement constitutes the entire agreement between the parties		
5	on the matters raised herein, and no other statement, promise, or agreement, either written or			
6	oral, made by either party or by agents of either party, that is not contained in this written			
7	agreement shali be enforceable.			
8	FOR THE COMMISSION:			
9 10	Anthony Herman General Counsel			
11 12 13 14	Acting	Date  Associate General Counsel  Inforcement		
15	FOR THE RE	SPONDENT:		
16 17 18 19	Mark L. Ornst Counsel to 10	tein Date  2002 LLC f/k/a Suncoast Ford		